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WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

HISTORY OF THE INCAS AND THE EXECUTION OF THE INCA TUPAC AMARU.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XXII.

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HISTORY OF THE INCAS

BY

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA

AND

THE EXECUTION OF THE INCA
TUPAC AMARU

BY

CAPTAIN BALTASAR DE OCAMPO

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION

BY

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B.,

PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

WITH A SUPPLEMENT:

A NARRATIVE OF THE VICE-REGAL EMBASSY TO
VILCABAMBA, 1571, AND OF THE EXECUTION
OF THE INCA TUPAC AMARU, DEC. 1571.

BY

FRIAR GABRIEL DE OVIEDO, OF CUZCO.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

1908.

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NOTICE.

AFTER the Society's volume was issued in 1907 containing the History of the Incas by Sarmiento, and the narrative of the execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru by Ocampo, a manuscript of great interest, as bearing on the latter event, was printed in the *Revista Historica*, of Lima. The manuscript had been only slightly injured by time.

The document was found in a collection of papers among the archives of the Convent of Santo Domingo, at Lima. It is a narrative of the execution, and of the events which preceded it, by Friar Gabriel de Oviedo, Prior of the Convent of Santo Domingo, at Cuzco, who was an actor in the events he describes.

We thus have, in Ocampo and Oviedo, two eye-witnesses of the same event, entirely independent of each other.

The narrative of Oviedo would have been included in our volume if it had arrived in time. For the sake of completeness, and as it is very short, it is considered that the issue of a translation separately, to be put with or bound up in the volume, is justified.

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM,
President.

MONT ESTORIL, LISBON.
January, 1908.



A NARRATIVE

Of what took place in the City of Cuzco, respecting the arrangements which his Majesty ordered to be made with the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and of the course which the war took that was made in consequence.

ON the 20th of July, 1571, the most excellent Lord Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of these Kingdoms of Peru, sent for Friar Gabriel de Oviedo,¹ at that time Prior of the house of San Domingo, in the City of Cuzco, of the Order of Preachers, and consulted with him how best to carry out the order received from his Majesty to arrange for the Inca, now retired in the mountains of the province of Vilcabamba, to come forth in peace. His Majesty intended to show favour, and to pardon any injury previously done to Spaniards; and that the said Inca should live quietly like a Christian, as was reasonable.

It seemed to the said Lord Viceroy that this business should be undertaken by an ecclesiastical person of learning and authority, who would best explain the intentions of his Majesty. He desired that the said Friar Gabriel de Oviedo should undertake this duty in person, to which the Friar consented, and that he should select a secular person of letters to accompany him, that he might undertake any business of a secular character that might arise. The Licentiate Garci Rios was chosen, and, the duty having been accepted by the Friar Gabriel de Oviedo, the mission was arranged in the following manner.

¹ The manuscript is not signed nor dated; but a passage further on proves that Friar Gabriel de Oviedo was the author (see page 406).

In the first place there was delivered to them the agreements and concessions which the Licentiate Castro, formerly Governor of these Kingdoms, made in the name of his Majesty to the said Inca, with confirmation sent from Spain by those of the Royal Council of the Indies, and approved by the Royal person of his Majesty.

Also they were given the letter which his Majesty wrote to the said Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui, which was as reasonable and Christianlike as was to be expected from so Christian a Prince. With it was delivered a translation of the substance of the said letter, for guidance in any negotiations or treaties which it might be desirable to make with the said Inca.

There was also delivered to them the Bull of Dispensation, granted at the request of his Majesty, to enable Don Felipe Quispi Titu, son of the said Titu Cusi Yupanqui, to marry Doña Beatriz Coya, his first cousin.

Also sufficient authority was given by the Ordinary, the see of Cuzco being vacant, to visit the said province, and to preach ; and certain instructions from the Lord Viceroy to make a settlement and establish order in the said province, with needful powers. With these documents, and others delivered to the Licentiate Rios, they left the City of Cuzco on August 20th of the said year.

On the 20th they arrived at the station of Huampu, in the *encomienda* granted to Nuño de Mendoza, inhabited by the Indians of Curamba. This place is two days' journey from the province of Vilcabamba. From thence, on the 22nd of August, they sent four principal Indians of the said *encomienda* to the Inca with letters announcing that they were coming, by order of his Excellency, and in the name of his Majesty, to treat with him on matters relating to his peace and Christianity, and to explain to him the desire of his Majesty for his good, and that

he should not live in those fastnesses but in the land of Christians, where he might live as one, with the comfort that was reasonable. To treat of these things with him, they desired to know where they should converse with him. If he wished them to come to his land he was requested to send Indians with *balsas* for them to cross the river of Acobamba that they might be able to fulfil their mission.

The said principal Indians departed with this message on the 28th of August, and we were waiting for the reply for three weeks. Finding that they were delayed, we sent two other Indians to descend to the river and find out what had become of the first messengers. Three days after we had despatched these second messengers, only one returned, badly wounded on the head and hands, and with a lance wound in the abdomen. He reported that the Indians of the Inca had killed his companion, and that they intended to kill him, but he escaped with a wound from a stone.

We then sent two principal Indians, some Cañaris of our company, and fifty other Indians to find the dead body and learn what had happened. They found the body, reported that the first messengers crossed the river, but could not discover who the Indians were who had killed one of the second messengers and wounded the other. On the receipt of this news we determined to go down to the River Acobamba. So we departed from Huampu on the 3rd of October of the said year, and reached the banks of the river on the 6th with the intention, if we could procure any kind of *balsa*, of crossing it and proceeding to the land of the Inca. We waited for two days on the banks, but could find no means of crossing it, though we made fires at night that the Indians might see us and come to take us across. No one gave a sign, so we determined to return.

With this failure and bad news we came back to the City of Cuzco on the 18th of October. His Excellency then ordered, to give the message greater authority, that our messenger should be a cavalier named Tilano de Anaya¹ who was major-domo of the said Inca in Cuzco, with whom he had communications on business. This cavalier was ordered to take another route by the bridge near Ollantay-tambo, where there is a way into the province of Vilcabamba. He set out with our letters, and with instructions from his Excellency not to delay at the bridge but to push on, with two Indians, and not to stop until he had delivered the letters into the hands of the said Inca.

The said Tilano de Anaya set out, and arrived at the province where he met Indians of the Inca apparently with peaceful intentions. They received our people with much rejoicing, the party consisting of two captains of the Inca and about thirty Indians, at a distance of half a league from the bridge. The said Anaya, being in his tent, they surrounded it, and pierced him with lances until he was dead, throwing his body down the side of a ravine into the river below. They also killed the Indians who were with him, only one escaping to bring the news to Cuzco.

On hearing of the death of the said Anaya and judging the news to be true, the Viceroy called a council, on Palm Sunday, the resolution being to make war on the Inca, and to give a reward to the man who captured him. The officers for the war were :—

¹ Tilano de Anaya, a citizen of Cuzco, was married to Doña Juana Machuca, and left several children, the eldest being named Bartolomé de Anaya. Seeing the poverty in which the widow was left on his death, the Viceroy assigned her an annual income of 500 dollars on 9th October, 1572. On 20th June, 1578, her pension was raised to 812 dollars, out of the land tax of Huaynacota, for her and her eldest son for life.

General Martin Hurtado de Arbieto, of
Cuzco.

Captains Martin de Meneses,
Antonio de Pereira,
Martin Garcia de Loyola, Knight
of Calatrava.

Captain of Artillery Ordoño de Valencia,¹ of Lima.

Camp Master. . . Juan Alvarez Maldonado, of Cuzco.

These marched by the road of Acobamba, which is the way by which we went.

Another detachment was sent under the orders of Gaspar de Sotelo, of Cuzco, with instructions from his Excellency that if the Inca, without knowing what had happened, and before warlike operations had commenced, should come forth peacefully, he should be received and given all security on the part of his Majesty.

The troops advanced to make war and took the province of Vilcabamba. It was found that the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui had been dead for nearly a year, and that when we arrived at the river to negotiate with him, although it was concealed from us at the time, as the Indians wished that we should not know of his death, he was then dead. It also became known, in the town of Vilcabamba, that some captains of Tupac Amaru (who was he that succeeded) had killed the first Indians who were sent, and the Spaniards found their bodies at the foot of some rocks.

In the said town of Vilcabamba were imprisoned Don Felipe Quispi Titu, son of the said Titu Cusi Yupanqui, with all his household. Tupac Amaru, from terror at the fury of the Spaniards, not daring to trust himself with them, with his captain general named Yulpa Yupanqui,

¹ Ordoño de Valencia accompanied the Viceroy Tolédo in his journey to the south. He was appointed also to make a visitation of the valleys and parishes of Cuzco.

fled towards the province of the Mañaries. Captain Loyola, with some of his company, went in pursuit, overtaking and capturing him.

When the war was finished his Excellency ordered that a town should be peopled by Spaniards in that province, and that all the prisoners should be brought to Cuzco.

On the day of St. Matthew of the year 1572 the captains entered the city with the captive Incas, triumphing over them. They brought also all the people that belonged to them, the bodies of Manco and Titu Cusi, and the wives and children of the captives. They were taken to the fortress which his Excellency had ordered to be made in the house of Don Carlos Inca.

The captives were divided among the monks to be catechized and taught the things appertaining to our Holy Catholic Faith. Don Pablo Tupac Amaru and Don Felipe Quispi Titu, with their wives and children, fell to the Order of Santo Domingo with this object. They were taught as much as the time would admit of, and that it might be done more conveniently, I the said Friar Gabriel de Oviedo¹ took as my share the instruction in catechism and doctrine with two monks of our Order who were very well acquainted with the native language. It was wonderful, especially as regards Tupac Amaru, to find that heathens, who had never been taught the things of our Holy Catholic Faith, should have shown such intelligence in understanding it. In three days they knew all that was necessary to enable them to be baptized. Not only did they show these good results but they pressed us to teach them more each day, saying that, though they were to be killed, they wished to be Christians and to die Christians.

Before the Viceroy made that war, though after he had

¹ See note at page 401.

EXECUTION OF TUPAC AMARU.



sent troops to make it, the news came that the Indians in Vilcabamba had killed Friar Diego Ortiz, of the Augustine Order, who was teaching them, a *mestizo* named Martin, and a negro of the Inca.

After Tupac Amaru had been catechized, they condemned him to death, and they took him to be beheaded on a scaffold which was ordered to be built. He died with great knowledge of God, and with complete disillusion respecting his idolatry; as was proved by the discourse he addressed to his countrymen before he was beheaded. There was an immense assemblage of Indians. It was a striking sight to behold. A great cry arose when they saw him on the scaffold, showing the deep feeling of the people at his death. All were weeping and shouting. By simply raising his hand the Inca obtained a profound silence, and all stood as if they were of stone. He then delivered a discourse on the false nature of their idolatry, and on the artifices by which his ancestors had induced them to believe in it. He exhorted them all to believe in the true God of the Christians. It was marvellous to see the singular animation and force which God appears to have put into the mind of this Indian. For only just before he was so dismayed that he prayed me to spare his life and that he would be my servant. The Viceroy received this discourse from the testimony of many persons of authority who were present and understood the language. He sent it to his Majesty and to those of the Royal Council of the Indies that they might see it. For it certainly was an important matter, by facilitating the work of preaching to these people.

After he had delivered this discourse they beheaded him. His head was ordered to be stuck on a pole, and his body was given to the Friars of Santo Domingo for sepulture. It was worthy of note that great numbers of Indians were all that night round the pole mourning for

their Inca, insomuch that the Viceroy feared that they would come to worship it, so he gave orders to have the head taken down and buried with the body.

Execution was also done on two captains of the Inca who were the most culpable respecting the deaths of the Friar and of Anaya. Others, who seemed to be less culpable, had their hands cut off.

Besides this, proceedings were commenced against certain principal Incas who resided in Cuzco; chiefly against Don Carlos Inca, a resident in that city who held *encomiendas* from his Majesty in the province of Ayaviri, Hatuncara, and Muyna, and other places, with 10,000 *castillanos* of rent. He was the son of Paullu Inca, who was one of those that helped the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. Proceedings were also taken against his brother Don Felipe, Don Diego Cayo, Don Alonso Titu Atauchi, Don Agustin Conde Mayta, principal men of Cuzco, and very near relations of the Incas. They were ordered to be banished from Cuzco and sent to the City of Kings there to undergo their banishment.

Together with these, four or five children of the Incas of Vilcabamba, the eldest being four years of age, were banished. Among these was a child three years old, son of Don Pablo Tupac Amaru who was beheaded, named Martin. There was also banished, with these, Don Felipe Quispi Titu, son of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, a youth aged eighteen, whom his father had intended for his heir in Vilcabamba.

All these were sent by the Viceroy to Lima. I do not know what became of them but it was thought desirable that they should not be in Cuzco, being important persons who might cause some rebellion.

The Viceroy has made a report to his Majesty and to the Royal Council of the Indies of all the circumstances,

and of all that has happened in much detail. What is here written is only what relates to these Incas, and some things of which I was an eye witness, having been the instrument in connection with them, and having dealt with them under my hands.

GABRIEL DE OVIEDO.

Cuzco.



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